DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 041 997 24 UD 010 515

AUTHOR Vogt, Carol Busch
TITLE Why Watts? An American Dilemma Today: Teacher's Manual; Student's Manual.
INSTITUTION Amherst Coll., Mass.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
BUREAU NO BR-5-1071
PUB DATE [67]
CONTRACT OEC-5-10-158
NOTE 46p.; Public Domain Edition

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.40
DESCRIPTORS *Activism, Civil Disobedience, Community Problems, *Demonstrations (Civil), Family Characteristics, Ghettos, Instructional Materials, *Negro Attitudes, Police Action, Poverty Programs, Prevention, Student Attitudes, Teaching Guides, Unemployment, *Violence
IDENTIFIERS California, Los Angeles, *Watts Community

ABSTRACT

Designed to invite the senior and junior high school student to investigate the immediate and underlying causes of riots and what can be done to prevent them, the student manual of this unit begins with a description of the Watts riots of 1965. The student is encouraged to draw his own conclusions, and to determine the feasibility of a variety of proposed solutions to this problem after consideration of the evidence drawn from a variety of sources, including novels. Ultimately, the student confronts the dilemma that the riots pose for American values and institutions, and is asked to articulate his personal role in meeting this challenge. The suggestions in the accompanying teacher manual are considered not to restrict the teacher, but the goals and interests of each teacher and each class are held to determine the exact use of the materials. (RJ)

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION
PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

ED041997

TEACHER'S MANUAL

WHY WATTS?

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA TODAY

Carol Busch Vogt
North Tonawanda Senior High School
North Tonawanda, New York

UD010515

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

This material has been produced
by the
Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts
under contract with the U. S. Office of Education
as Cooperative Research Project #H-168.

This unit presents evidence which the student can use to formulate his ideas as to how riots begin, what causes riots and what can be done to prevent riots. By examining Watts as a case study of riots in the Negro ghettos, the student is, in essence, examining American society, American values, and the capacity of the American people and their institutions to solve difficult and complex problems.

The organization of the unit is simple. Section I is a narrative describing the immediate incident that triggered the Watts riot of August, 1965. Section II presents evidence which suggests various underlying causes of the riots from which the student is encouraged to draw his own conclusions. The adequacy of the wide ranging responses to the riots and the probability of implementing these responses are the concerns of Section III. In Section IV the student is encouraged to ponder his own role in preventing future riots, in meeting the challenge presented by Watts.

The suggestions in this manual are not meant to tie the teacher's hands. The goals and interests of each teacher and each class will ultimately determine the use of these articles.

SECTION I

WHAT HAPPENED?

The first section describes the immediate incident, the spark that set off the powder keg that was Watts. This narrative may catch the student's interest and provoke him to ask why a simple traffic arrest turned into a riot which was characterized by the manifesto "Burn, Baby, Burn!" and which resulted in excessive human tragedy and property damage.

The first eight selections provide a blow by blow account of the incident that led to the rioting, and may give the student some insight into the mood of Watts on the eve of the riots. The selections revealing the crowd's abrupt change from humorous appreciation of the arrest of a drunk (#1) to fanatical shouting of "Burn, Baby, Burn!" (#8), the interaction between Marquette Frye and his mother (#2), and the double mistake that Mrs. Frye and Joyce Gaines were pregnant (#4 and #6) may lead students to ask questions as to the frame of reference of the people who gathered at the scene of the arrest. The teacher might ask the students to compare the accounts of the police with those of the Fryes (#3 and #4), the statements of the police with those of Joyce Gaines and Jimmy Lee Ticey (#5-#7). In what specific ways did the accounts differ? A discussion of the contrasting attitudes of the residents of Watts and the police could lead to a consideration of the role of individual and crowd behavior in an historical moment. How would the students evaluate the decisions made by the officers in charge (#5 and #8)? At this point the students could be asked to write an essay based on research in the library describing the incident that triggered some other riot, comparing and contrasting this with the arrest of the Fryes. The students could also be asked to write a paragraph giving their opinion as to what caused the Watts riot. Answers might range from such simple ones as "The arrest of Marquette Frye," "Joyce Gaines spit at a cop," or "It was so hot that people got mad and started throwing things," to those that look beyond the immediate incident. Reading several student replies to the whole class could stimulate a discussion of the differences between immediate and underlying causes and prepare the student for further examination of what caused the riots in Section II.

The statistics revealing human casualties and property damage (#9) are included since they provide graphic evidence of what happened in the Watts rioting, what resulted from the manifesto "Burn, Baby, Burn!" To heighten the drama, some teachers may want to illustrate specific incidents which occur during a riot. This could be done by opaque or overhead projection of riot scenes. The July and August, 1967, issues of Life and Newsweek contain excellent photographs which could be used for this purpose.

The selections in this Section might best be read as an assignment in preparation for one class day of discussion. In groups with low reading ability, the Section could be divided into one assignment on the arrest of the Fryes (#1-#4) and one on the 'spitting' incident, the withdrawal of the police and the results of the riots (#5-#9).

SECTION II

WHAT CAUSES THE RIOTS?

This section is the core of the unit since it is here that the students find evidence throwing some light on the social, psychological, economic, and political causes of rioting. The material does not suggest a correct answer to what causes rioting, for the question is an open-ended one. However, the student is asked to grapple with the historian's task, to make judgments based on the sometimes conflicting evidence he finds and to arrive at some conclusions as to what evidence makes the most sense.

The materials in this section are arranged to introduce the student to the notions of single and multiple causation in history. Parts A and B present sociological, psychological and economic evidence of the multiple causes of the riots. Part C provides two examples of single cause explanations of Watts. It is suggested that 2 days be spent on Part A and one day each on Parts B and C.

The evidence in Part A is, broadly speaking, sociological and psychological. The central questions posed are: What is it like to be a Negro in a community such as Watts? Does the answer to this question explain such riots as the one in Watts?

The graph in the introduction to this Part indicates increasing migration of Southern Negroes to the Northern cities, from rural to urban areas. Watts, then, is a community of rural immigrants or children of rural immigrants. The selection from Richard Wright's Black Boy (A,1) provides some of the reasons these people have gone North. The students might well ask the question: What do Richard Wright's friends think they will find in the North? The rest of the selections in this Part indicate what the Negro did find, not the "promised land" but frustration and despair, a variety of discrimination far more subtle but equally as damaging as that experienced in life "down home."

In white America to be black in the north means having experiences like Claude Brown's day in court with his father (A,2), being denied the right to be a man, to be somebody. The "invisibility" experienced by Mr. Brown in court raises the question of a man's self-image when a society tells him he "ain't nuthin or nobody." Students might be asked to determine the relationship between such experiences as this and Grandpa Brown's attitude towards himself and his color (A,5). This dilemma of identity and self-image is apparent in Claude's mother's advice that Pimp had better know his place and not aim too high (A,3) and in George Baxter's experiences in the garment center in New York City (A,4). To what extent are our expectations and views of ourselves determined by what others think and expect of us. Dick

Gregory said "I've got to be a colored, funny man, not a funny, colored man" (A,6). Does his resolution of this identity crisis save him from the self hatred with which Grandpa Brown must live?

The real experiences of the Horace Bakers (A,7) and the fictional experiences of the family in Raisin in the Sun (A,8) provide evidence of another facet of being black in white America. These two families have earned the money to move out of the ghetto and they are frustrated in their attempts to leave the slums by yet another implication that the Negro in North should "know his place." The frustration of discrimination in housing, both blatant as in Folcroft Borough (A,7) and subtle as in Raisin in the Sun (A,8), is added to the frustration of the identity dilemma revealed in the preceding selections.

The selection from James Baldwin (A,9) (readers with less ability might omit the first paragraph) raises a basic question: If being black in white America means being discriminated against and being made to play an inferior role, why is this so? Why has white America condemned the Negro to this position? What is the "nameless fear" motivating the white man's actions?

Griffin's story of his white driver (A,10), the item on Moynihan's study (A,11), and Roy Wilkins' comments throw some light on Baldwin's questions and go on to raise related questions. Griffin's experience and Moynihan's analysis reveal the complex relationship between the facts of Negro sex and family life and white attitudes towards the Negro's sex and family life. Which is cause and which is effect? In this context, the students might re-examine Baldwin's remark that the ultimate question is "Would you let your sister marry one?" Griffin's white driver sees him as something less than a human being. Students might explore the relationship between this man's attitudes and the white attitudes expressed in Brown's courtroom scene (A,2) and in George Baxter's experience downtown (A,4). This might lead to a discussion of such questions as: Are the actions of Negroes determined by the attitudes and actions of whites? To what extent is the "Negro problem" really a white problem? Would Moynihan's work have been more valuable in understanding the causes of the riots if he had studied the determinants of white behavior rather than or in addition to the determinants of Negro behavior?

Finally, students might consider whether Moynihan's historical explanation of the present instability of the Negro family contradicts Roy Wilkins' (A,12) mention of the Negro in American history? According to Wilkins, what is wrong with the white man's view of the Negro?

Part B presents evidence that enables the student to consider poverty and unemployment as causes of rioting. The document in the introduction asks students to consider the economic conditions under which Negroes live in the city ghettos. Discussion of Part B might begin with questions that raise the issue

of the relation between rioting and poverty: Would Charlie Smith riot if he did not see others riding around in new cars and living in big houses? Does Charlie Smith have more or less to lose than the pioneers who walked across a continent in barefoot poverty? Is rioting an acceptable or understandable reaction on Charlie's part?

The graphs (B,1) supply evidence of unemployment and discrimination in jobs and housing. Students will notice that unemployment rates are higher for non-white high school graduates than for white dropouts, that white dropouts earn more money than non-white high school graduates, and that a greater percentage of non-whites who earn $3,000-$4,999 a year live in substandard housing than whites who earn less than $3,000 a year. The student may want to inquire into the causes of these conditions. Do Negroes making $4,999 a year want to live in the slums? Why do Negro high school graduates earn less than white dropouts? Is it worthwhile for non-whites to stay in school?

In attempting to define the relationship between economic conditions and rioting, students will find in that section of McCone Commission Report concerned with the disadvantaged consumer and living conditions in South Central Los Angeles (B,2) evidence of lawlessness and "violence" done to Watts residents by local entrepreneurs and absentee landlords. This report reveals that discrimination in transportation has led to physical as well as emotional alienation of the slums. Evidence of welfare poverty in the ghetto is supplied in the narrative about Bucky (B,3) and in the interview with a resident of Harlem (B,4), and Bucky's mother may be compared with the woman described by the man from Harlem. In the light of these two selections reappraisal of the evidence discussed in Moynihan Report (A,9) may prove worthwhile.

Kenneth Clark stated that rioting is the way in which residents of the ghetto believe they can change their lives (B,5). This "suicide" theory might be related to Charlie Smith's allegation in the introduction to Part B.

Part C deals with three explanations of the riots: lawlessness created by the civil rights movement, outside organizers and conspirators, and police brutality. The first two explanations depend, in large measure, on the single cause theory of history. The commentator in the National Review (C,1), discounting poverty and frustration, maintained that Dr. King and his civil rights movement are guilty of causing the riots. This thesis that the preachers of civil disobedience have destroyed internal order in a quest for justice might well lead to spin off reading and discussion of the meaning and significance of civil disobedience, order and justice. The article from American Opinion (C,2) provides an excellent opportunity to discuss the single cause, conspiracy theory of history. Just as some historians have found a bankers' plot behind World War I and a Franklin Delano Roosevelt plot behind World War II, the author of this

selection believe a Communist "Organization" is behind the riots. The view of poverty expressed in the National Review article and American Opinion's contention that the Communists have made Negroes believe that they are "exploited and victims of unjust laws" can be compared with evidence presented in Parts A and B of this section. In fact, at this point, students will have to reexamine the conclusions they have reached based on evidence suggested in Parts A and B and subject their theories to the evidence presented in the articles from the National Review and American Opinion.

The interview with Chief Parker (C,4) reiterates the views presented in National Review and American Opinion articles and acts as transitional material in raising the issue of police brutality as a cause of the riots. Parker, the National Review, American Opinion, and the Los Angeles policeman (C,5) maintain that police brutality is a fiction. The statement by an ex-gang leader in Watts (C,8) and the selection from Christian Century (C,7) supply evidence of police maltreatment. A fruitful discussion on the role of the police in a democratic society may develop, based on these selections and on the student's consideration of their own views of and experiences with the police. Finally, as Margaret Mead points out, whether police brutality or maltreatment are fact or fiction, poor relations between a community and officers of the law breed friction (C,6). The teacher might conclude by asking if this friction is the cause or a cause of rioting, thus bringing the discussion back to the conflict between single and multiple theories of causation in history.

SECTION III

THE RESPONSES

This section moves from an examination of the causes of riots to a consideration of what can be done to prevent them. It presents plans, theories, philosophies, laws, and programs emanating from a variety of sources: governments, Negro leaders, and social scientists. Part A suggests measures which emphasize the maintenance and strengthening of law and order. Part B provides a wide range of responses from Negro leaders, and Part C presents economic remedies stemming from the notion that rioting is basically caused by poverty. The relative length of the material suggests that 1 day each be spent on A and C and 2 days on B.

An investigation of the wide range of responses to the riots may provide the student with the material on which he can draw to formulate his own answer to the question asked in the next Section: Can we expect riots every year? The student can be encouraged to approach this question by being asked to evaluate the adequacy of the responses, taken individually and/or in combination, in the light of the causes suggested in Section II. Each proposal should be juxtaposed against all the others to discover the weaknesses in each. Then, using his knowledge of the values of American society and considering the conflicts among the responses, the student can weigh both the adequacy and probability of implementing the various solutions suggested.

In addition, a study of the responses to the riots provides another point of reference from which to view the causes of the riots, for the way America has reacted to Watts may well be the all important variable in arriving at an answer to the question: Why Watts? Certainly, each American's theory of the cause or causes of the riots governs the nature of the solution as he would choose.

One of the most immediate responses to the riots has been a call for more power for police and law enforcement agencies, and Part A provides evidence of the nature of this response. Will more powerful police, more stringent punishment for rioters, and better law enforcement prevent riots?

Chief Parker's statement (A,1) and Mayor Maier's response to the riots in Milwaukee (A,2) might well be contrasted with the comment put forward by Robert Kennedy (A,4). When Parker discussed law enforcement, was he referring to the laws about which Kennedy was concerned? An important factor in considering the "better laws" response to the riots is "which laws"? The selection on the anti-riot bill (A,3) not only presents positions for and against the Milwaukee and Parker approach on a national level but also raises a problem of definition: What is meant by the clause in the bill "incite a riot"? Does a speech against local government officials incite a riot? The teacher may want to look ahead to Part B and use phrases from H. Rap

Brown (B,11) as an example, for Brown was charged with inciting a riot on the basis of statements made in Cambridge, Maryland in the summer of 1967.

The various approaches taken by the leaders of Negro organizations are presented in Part B: those adopted by Martin Luther King, by the Black Muslims, and by Black Power advocates. The conflicting views presented may well provoke students to raise questions about divisions within the ranks of Negro leadership. These questions may be encouraged if the teacher asks students to determine to whom each of the Negro leaders is talking, for Martin Luther King's non-violence seeks to motivate the conscience of the white (B,3 and B,4) while Elijah Muhammad's position attempts to show the Negro in his true, black identity (B,7). The views of the men presented in this Part can be continually played one against the other to reveal the inadequacies each would find in the responses of the others.

The selections discussing Martin Luther King's activities begin with a relatively successful example of his doctrine of non-violence and peaceful demonstration, the 1963 march on Washington (B,1) and the 1964 Civil Rights Bill (B,2). These two selections, as well as Dr. Clark's comments on King's philosophy (B,3) might be juxtaposed against the reports of King's attempts to end housing discrimination outside Chicago (B,4 and B,5) and the comments of Negro participants in the Chicago and Watts riots (B,6). Can King's marches influence the hecklers in Chicago? Another relevant question might be: To what extent and in what way are King's activities responsible for the violence of the young men in Chicago and Watts? This question refers students back to the allegation that the civil rights movement and Dr. King's philosophy are the cause of the rioting (II, C, 1,4 and 5).

The selections on the Black Muslims (III, B 7 and 8) especially the assertion by Floyd Saks that Elijah Muhammad has given the black man his identity and manhood, provide an obvious opportunity to have students return to Section II and indicate with which suggested causes of rioting the solutions of the Black Muslims deal. Muhammad's list of what the Muslims want provides evidence of the separatism and rejection of America involved in the Black Muslim movement. This list may also be held up against Baldwin's contention that, like it or not, black and white Americans can only find their identities together (III, B,9). These complex and subtle concepts might be explored by asking students to compare King's view of the white world with that held by Floyd Saks and Elijah Muhammad: King believes that the white man has a conscience to which he can appeal while Saks speaks of the "white devil."

The selections referring to Black Power not only indicate how difficult it is to determine the meaning of that phrase but

also provide students with a sense of the "charisma" of the slogan. Why does the slogan Black Power have such dynamic appeal? A comparison of Carmichael's definition of Black Power (B,10), the speeches of Black Power advocate H. Rap Brown (B,11) and The New York Times report of the 1967 Black Power Conference (B,12) may suggest questions such as: Does Black Power imply working within American society or outside it? Is it a message of action or anarchy? Is Black Power aimed at breaking laws or making laws to change society? How does the Black Power approach compare with the approaches of Dr. King and the Black Muslims?

The last selection in Part B provides some indication as to the reaction of Negroes to the various responses of the leaders. Students should be encouraged to seek other evidence along these lines, since this chart is certainly an important barometer of the mood of the Negro community. If most Negroes approve of King's nonviolent approach, why the riots?

In Part C the student is asked to consider two proposals aimed at eliminating poverty in the United States. The first, the Freedom Budget, is essentially a method by which present governmental antipoverty and welfare programs could be vastly expanded. The second and more revolutionary idea is that of a guaranteed income for all. In weighing these programs, the student might evaluate the probability of Americans being willing to take up the burdens or make the changes in values implicit in these proposals.

The item from Time reports the Federal government's response to Watts (C,1). The selections on the Freedom Budget (C, 2 and 3) present the argument that America is wealthy enough to eliminate virtually all poverty by 1975. The graphs used to convey this point are somewhat complex. Therefore, the teacher may want to ask some specific questions to point up the proposal's implications, such as: Do you think most Americans would choose a tax cut because of increasing prosperity or apt to keep the tax rate constant in order to end poverty?

Saul Alinsky and the National Review criticized governmental programs and the Freedom Budget from opposite ends of the political spectrum. Speaking from the left, Alinsky maintained that the only way to end poverty is to organize the poor. From the right, the National Review opposed the contention that poverty can be eliminated by government spending, maintaining that the poor are poor because they want to be and that the best way to eliminate poverty is to make being poor a terrible experience.

Alinsky's contention that the poor must build a militant, organized, power base of their own to demand, rather than accept,

programs from the government might be compared with the philosophies of the Black Power advocates. What do people derive from being members of an organization which is fighting for its demands? The argument presented in the National Review might be related to the selections discussing poverty and riots (II,B).

The whole concept of "welfarism" as a cause of and a response to the riots could be examined in light of the proposal for a guaranteed income (C,6) by referring to Section II, specifically to Bucky's story (II,B,3) and to the comments of the man from Harlem (II,B,4). Would a guaranteed income allow the poor self-respect in the present system of American values?

SECTION IV

A LONG, HOT CENTURY?

In this section, the student finds himself caught in a dilemma. The item from Time illustrates the awful toll of rioting and makes the prospect of continued rioting a horrifying thought. It is apt to elicit the response that this must not be allowed to continue. At the same time the student is aware of the complexity of the causes of the riots and the inadequacy, in light of American values, of the proposed solutions to the riots.

The news story reporting on Watts 2 years later (#1), the opinion polls from Newsweek (#2), and the editorial from The New York Times (#3) invite the student to grapple with the significance and consequences of this dilemma. What does this dilemma tell the student about American society? What does it tell him about the nature of man and the phenomena of man operating in time? Most important, what does it tell him about himself and his personal role in meeting the challenge of the riots.

ED041997

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION
PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

STUDENT'S MANUAL

WHY WATTS?

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA TODAY

Carol Busch Vogt
North Tonawanda Senior High School
North Tonawanda, New York

UD010515

This material has been produced
by the
Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts
under contract with the U. S. Office of Education
as Cooperative Research Project #H-168.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

NOTE TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

This unit was prepared by the Committee on the Study of History, Amherst College, under contract with the United States Office of Education. It is one of a number of units prepared by the Amherst Project, and was designed to be used either in series with other units from the Project or independently, in conjunction with other materials. While the units were geared initially for college-preparatory students at the high school level, experiments with them by the Amherst Project suggest the adaptability of many of them, either wholly or in part, for a considerable range of age and ability levels, as well as in a number of different kinds of courses.

The units have been used experimentally in selected schools throughout the country, in a wide range of teaching/learning situations. The results of those experiments will be incorporated in the Final Report of the Project on Cooperative Research grant H-168, which will be distributed through ERIC.

Except in one respect, the unit reproduced here is the same as the experimental unit prepared and tried out by the Project. The single exception is the removal of excerpted articles which originally appeared elsewhere and are under copyright. While the Project received special permission from authors and publishers to use these materials in its experimental edition, the original copyright remains in force, and the Project cannot put such materials in the public domain. They have been replaced in the present edition by bracketed summaries, and full bibliographical references have been included in order that the reader may find the material in the original.

This unit was initially prepared in the summer of 1967.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION. 1

I - WHAT HAPPENED?. 2

II - WHAT CAUSES THE RIOTS?. 8

A. In White America. 8
B. Poverty and Riots 12
C. Agitators, Conspirators, and Police Brutality . 16

III - THE RESPONSES 20

A. An End to Lawlessness 20
B. Negro Leaders Speak 21
C. An End to Poverty 25

IV - A LONG, HOT CENTURY? 29

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 31

INTRODUCTION

This is a unit about riots in America of the nineteen-sixties. The Watts riot of August, 1965, has been chosen as an example of the death and destruction that has stalked the streets of some cities in the United States, but the statements and observations in the following pages apply equally well to the Chicago riots of 1966, the Detroit riots of 1967, the riots in the small New York community of Nyack, and, perhaps, to the riots in your own village, town or city.

You will be asked to consider how riots begin, what causes them and how we may bring an end to rioting. The selections in this unit will supply you with a variety of answers to all of these questions, but these answers often contradict one another, and, since there is no one answer on which all authorities agree, you will have to formulate your own conclusions and be your own authority.

The riots of the sixties have caused tremendous damage to life and property, they have dimmed the American image in other lands, they have increased ill feeling among various groups in this country. But, perhaps most importantly, the riots of the sixties challenge every American to understand and to act. This is the challenge you must meet in the following pages.

SECTION I

WHAT HAPPENED?

How does a riot start? What happens when men, women and children roam the streets looting and fighting, when an ordinary summer day explodes into a moment of history? From August 11 until August 18, 1965, during an unprecedented ten-day heat wave, the Watts area of Los Angeles was an inferno of destruction and death. When the flames died down, Governor Brown of California appointed a committee of experts and prominent citizens, headed by John McCone, a former chief of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to investigate the causes of the riots and suggest solutions. The report of this committee, known as the McCone Commission Report, provides evidence of what happened in Watts. Another description of the riots was written by Jerry Cohen and William Murphy based on personal interviews conducted with rioters, policemen, and eyewitnesses as well as on their reading of the McCone Report. The account that follows is drawn primarily from these two sources.

1. On August 11, 1965 Marquette Frye, driving his mother's automobile along Avalon Boulevard, was stopped for speeding. The only other passenger in the car was Ronald Frye, Marquette's half-brother.[1]

> /This passage relates how Officer Lee Minikus efficiently, yet politely by all accounts, arrested Marquette Frye for drunken driving./

2. Mrs. Frye, Marquette's mother, lived nearby and someone had come to

---

[1]Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy, Burn Baby Burn! The Los Angeles Race Riot, August, 1965 (E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., New York, 1966), 29-30. (Abridged from the Book BURN, BABY, BURN by Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy. Copyright c 1966 by Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy. Reprinted by permission of the E.P.Dutton & Co., Inc.)

tell her what was happening. At this point, she appeared at the scene of the arrest to claim her car and speak with her sons.[2]

> /This selection describes the conversation between Frye and his mother. Frye claims he is not drunk; his mother claims he is and urges that he go with the police./

3. From the viewpoint of the police, Mrs. Frye's conversation with her son was followed by the events described below:[3]

> Suddenly Marquette Frye started screaming obscenities, pushed his mother aside, yelled that he refused to be arrested and that the officers would have to kill him to take him to jail. The patrolman concluded Marquette Frye should be taken into physical custody.
>
> Patrolman Minikus attempted to take physical custody of Marquette Frye by taking hold of his arm. Marquette Frye pulled away and swung his fist at Patrolman Minikus who deflected the blow with his arm. The gathering spectators began to mill around. . . .
>
> Patrolman Wilson went to the aid of Patrolman Minikus, who was being hindered by Ronald Frye, and jabbed Ronald Frye in the stomach with a baton once or twice in an attempt to deter him. When he attempted to subdue Marquette Frye, Marquette grabbed the baton. Patrolman Wilson wrenched his baton from the grasp of Marquette Frye and swung it, trying to hit him across the shoulders. Marquette Frye moved and the blow hit him on the forehead, breaking the skin and causing a contusion. Patrolmen Lewis and Bennett were occupied in controlling the crowd. About this time California Highway Patrolman Veale J. Fonville arrived on his motorcycle, and he assisted the other patrolmen.
>
> While Marquette Frye was the object of the arresting patrolmen, Ronald Frye and Mrs. Rena Frye, although warned by the patrolmen not to interfere, attempted to pull the patrolmen away from Marquette Frye. Mrs. Frye jumped on the back of first one and then another patrolman during the struggle and Ronald tried to strike patrolman Lewis. The uniform shirt of Patrolman Minikus was torn from his back. Mrs. Frye and Ronald Frye were then placed under physical arrest, as was Marquette Frye. Each of the Frye's was handcuffed, hands behind back. Marquette Frye was shoved into the right front

---

[2] Ibid., 33.

[3] Transcripts, Depositions, Consultant Reports and Selected Documents of the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots (Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, Los Angeles, 1965), II, 9-12. (Hereinafter referred to as McCone Commission Report.)

seat of the California Highway Patrol transportation vehicle. Mrs. Frye was placed in the middle and Ronald Frye on the right-hand side of the rear seat of the same vehicle.

About that time Patrolman Leonard W. Moore of the California Highway Patrol arrived on the scene in his patrol car. He observed approximately 300 people in the vicinity. He alighted from his vehicle and held a shotgun at port arms position across the street from the patrol car of Patrolman Bennett. The arrested persons were being placed in the patrol car at that time and the people who had been standing on either side of the street appeared to be advancing toward the patrol vehicle containing the arrested persons. Other CHP officers arrived about that time as did six officers of the Los Angeles Police Department.

There was some yelling of "brutality" from the crowd when patrolmen thwarted efforts of Marquette Frye to get out of the patrol vehicle before the arrestees were driven away. His feet were pushed back into the car on one occasion by what the patrolman described as a "shove," and described by a few of the spectators as a "kick." In any event, the crowd became more vocal as the arrestees were being removed. . . .

4. The Fryes, in an interview with Ebony magazine, told their story of what happened after Mrs. Frye's arrival at the scene of the arrest:[4]

> /The interview states that there was no violence until the police "accosted" Mrs. Frye. Marquette Frye went to his mother's aid and was, in turn, struck by the police. Because Mrs. Frye was wearing a shift, the crowd thought a pregnant woman was being hit./

5. Having secured the three Fryes in the police cars, the officers attempted to leave. The police explained what followed.[5]

> Sergeant Nicholson directed the patrolmen to prepare for departure and the crowd remained back of the curbing as the motorcycle patrolmen started to move away, riding in pairs, side by side from the curbing on Avalon Boulevard where the motorcycles had been parked. Sergeant Nicholson and Patrolman Gale R. Gilbert were at the end of the column. Sergeant Nicholson gave the signal for the patrolmen to depart.
>
> At that time patrolmen observed some women along the curbing, shouting obscenities at the law enforcement officers. Sergeant Nicholson and Patrolman Gilbert observed a female Negro step

---

[4]Louie Robinson, ". . . If They Hadn't Kicked that Man," Ebony, Oct., 1965, 117.

[5]McCone Commission Report, II, 16-17.

between two shouting Negroes, at the front of the crowd, and expectorate at Patrolman Harry J. Taylor and James D. Vaughn as they rolled away on their motorcycles.

Patrolman Vaughn thought he felt the spittum strike his shirt, butcontinued on in the column of patrolmen. Officer Gilbert jumped off his motorcycle and reached for the female who had expectorated. Sergeant Nicholson radioed for the patrolmen proceeding from the scene to return immediately. This call was broadcast at 7:31 p.m. Patrolmen Vaughn, Taylor and others responded. Sergeant Nicholson then went to the aid of Patrolman Gilbert who was holding the accused female by the arm.

A large male Negro held this female by her other arm. Sergeant Nicholson states the male Negro was trying to pull the female from the grasp of Gilbert and at the same time was shouting, "Come on, let's get them." The crowd surged around the two patrolmen who were attempting to take custody of the female. Sergeant Nicholson managed to separate the male Negro and the female Negro and he pushed the male Negro to the street where Patrolman Wallin and a Los Angeles police officer handcuffed him. Patrolman Gilbert states several Negroes in the crowd tried to pull the female from his grasp. Several highway patrolmen and LAPD (Los Angeles Police Department) officers came to his assistance, pushed the crowd back, allowing Patrolman Gilbert and others to take the female, against her resistance, to the middle of the street where she was handcuffed by an LAPD officer. The female Negro was arrested for battery against Patrolman Vaughn (Section 242b, California Penal Code) and removed from the scene by police officers to their 77th St. Station. The charge against her was filed by Patrolman Vaughn. . . .

6. The "female Negro" referred to by the police was Miss Joyce Ann Gaines, a lady barber. She told her story in an interview with Cohen and Murphy:[6]

> /This interview relates how Miss Gaines attempted to leave the crowd to return to her business but was grabbed by a number of policemen. She immediately became the object of a tug-of-war between the crowd and the police. Her barber smock led the crowd to believe that she was pregnant./

7. Mr. Jimmy Lee Ticey, referred to by the police as "the large male Negro" made his statement to the McCone Commission:[7]

---

[6]Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy, Burn Baby Burn!, 57-59.

[7]McCone Commission Report, II, 18-19.

> The male Negro who was separated from her [Joyce Gaines] in the crowd was Jimmy Lee Ticey, age 31, of 9518 Grape Street, Los Angeles. He observed a highway patrolman proceeding north on Avalon Boulevard on a motorcycle, with siren in operation. Mr. Ticey left his place of employment at 126th Street and Avalon Blvd., following the patrolman "to see what had happened." He arrived as the tow truck was hooking up to the Frye's Buick to remove it. The Fryes were seated in the patrol vehicle. Mr. Ticey asked various questions of patrolmen concerning their activities, and stood in the crowd.
>
> He states he was not encouraging the crowd to riot, but was merely waving to a Los Angeles police officer that he knew, requesting that officer to come to his side where a woman was being taken into custody by other officers. Mr. Ticey claims an officer standing near him took him into custody. He was subsequently identified by LAPD officer William Davis as an acquaintance, and was transported to 77th Street Station, LAPD, where he was held for a time that evening, and then released without having a charge filed against him. . . .

8. The police reported what happened after they placed Joyce Gaines and Jimmy Lee Ticey under arrest:[8]

> [This selection describes the difficulty of the police in leaving the area. The crowd became more violent: bottles and beer cans were thrown at the departing police cars and a young Negro yelled "Burn, baby, burn."]

9. The riots that began on August 11 lasted seven days. The human and property damage was summarized in the Report of the McCone Commission:[9]

> The Grim Statistics
>
> The final statistics are staggering. There were 34 persons killed and 1,032 reported injuries, including 90 Los Angeles police officers, 136 firemen, 10 national guardsmen, 23 persons, from other governmental agencies, and 773 civilians. 118 of the injuries resulted from gunshot wounds. Of the 34 killed, one was a fireman, one was a deputy sheriff, and one a Long Beach policeman.
>
> In the weeks following the riots, Coroner's Inquests were held regarding thirty-two of the deaths. The Coroner's jury ruled that twenty-six of the deaths were justifiable homicide, five were homicidal, and one was accidental. Of those ruled justifiable homicide, the jury found that death was caused in sixteen instances by officers of the Los Angeles Police Department and in seven instances by the National Guard.

---

[8] Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy, Burn Baby Burn!, 61-63.

[9] McCone Commission Report, I, 23-25. [Footnotes omitted.]

It has been estimated that the loss of property attributable to the riots was over $40 million. More than 600 buildings were damaged by burning and looting. Of this number, more than 200 were totally destroyed by fire. The rioters concentrated primarily on food markets, liquor stores, furniture stores, clothing stores, department stores, and pawn shops. Arson arrests numbered 27 and 10 arson complaints were filed, a relatively small number considering that fire department officials say that all of the fires were incendiary in origin. Between 2,000 and 3,000 fire alarms were recorded during the riot, 1,000 of these between 7:00 a.m. on Friday and 7:00 a.m. on Saturday. We note with interest that no residences were deliberately burned, that damage to schools, libraries, churches and public buildings were minimal, and that certain types of business establishments, notably service stations and automobile dealers, were for the most part unharmed.

There were 3,438 adults arrested, 71% for burglary and theft. The number of juveniles arrested was 514, 81% for burglary and theft. Of the adults arrested, 1,232 had never been arrested before; 1,164 had a "minor"criminal record (arrest only or convictions with sentence of 90 days or less); 1,042 with "major" criminal record (convictions with sentence of more than 90 days). Of the juveniles arrested, 257 had never been arrested before; 212 had a "minor" criminal record; 43 had a "major" criminal record. Of the adults arrested, 2,057 were born in 16 southern states whereas the comparable figures for juveniles was 131. Some of the juveniles arrested extensively damaged the top two floors of an auxiliary jail which had been opened on the Saturday of the riots. . . .

By reorganizing calendars and making special assignments, the Los Angeles Superior and Municipal Courts have been able to meet the statutory deadlines for processing the cases of those arrested. Court statistics indicate that by November 26, the following dispositions had been made of the 2278 felony cases filed against adults: 856 were found guilty; 155 were acquitted; 641 were disposed of prior to trial, primarily by dismissal; 626 are awaiting trial. Of the 1133 misdemeanor cases filed, 733 were found guilty, 81 were acquitted, 184 dismissed and 135 are awaiting trial.

The police and Sheriff's Department have long known that many members of gangs, as well as others, in the south central area possessed weapons and knew how to use them. However, the extent to which pawn shops, each one of which possessed an inventory of weapons, were the immediate target of looters, leads to the conclusion that a substantial number of the weapons used were stolen from these shops. During the riots, law enforcement officers recovered 851 weapons. There is no evidence that the rioters made any attempt to steal narcotics from pharmacies in the riot area even though some pharmacies were looted and burned. . . .

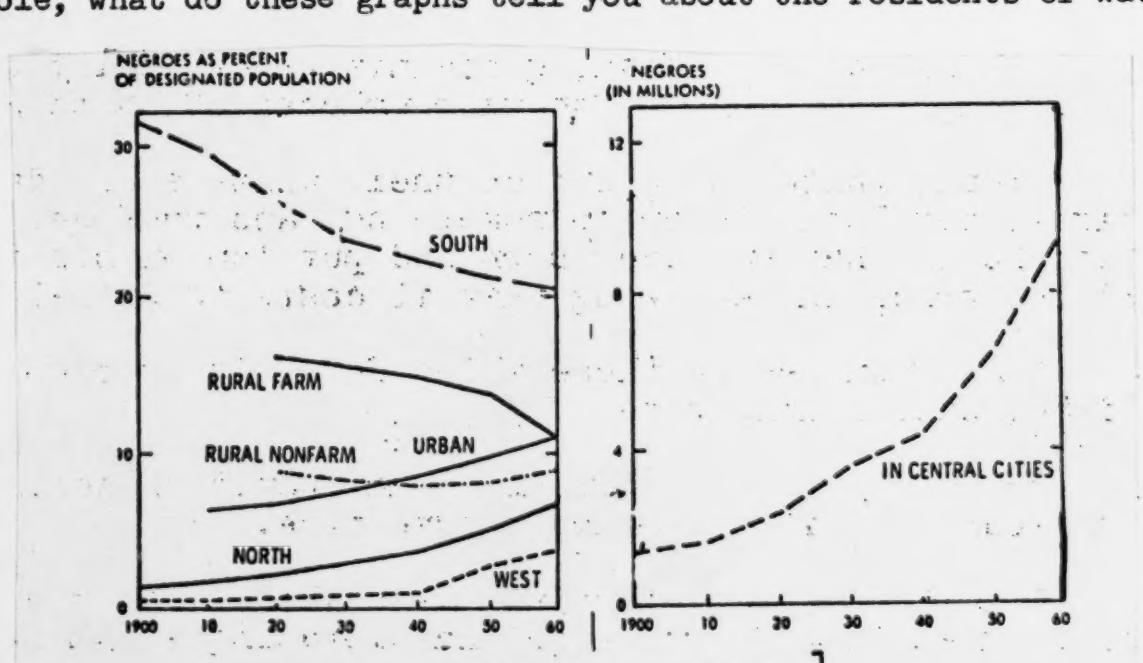
SECTION II

WHAT CAUSES THE RIOTS?

As the crackling of guns and the calls of looters and the flames of destruction die away in Watts and in every other city of riots, the nation is faced with a perplexing question. What caused the riots? This section provides a wide variety of evidence to help you formulate an answer to this question.

A. In White America

From the graphs below, what generalizations can you make about shifts in the Negro population as a whole? Since Watts reflects the same patterns of movement of the Negro population as exist in the United States as a whole, what do these graphs tell you about the residents of Watts?



SHIFTS IN NEGRO POPULATION[1]
Adapted from the U. S. Bureau of the Census

Part A examines the underlying causes of these shifts in population and the effect of this migration, both on the individual and on society.

[1]United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, The Negroes in the United States, Their Economic and Social Situation, Bulletin 1511 (Government Printing Office, Washington, June, 1966), 5.

1. Richard Wright, in a novel based on his own life, looked back and commented upon a street corner conversation he and his friends held one night in a Southern community:[2]

> /The conversation concentrates on the meanness of whites toward Negroes; that going North won't help and that basically the white man was "just born that way."/

2. Claude Brown's mother and father came North to Harlem where Claude was born and grew up. In a book that has had a tremendous impact since its publication, Claude Brown told about the day he and his father went to court hoping to collect long overdue damages from a company responsible for an accident in which Claude was hit by a bus:[3]

> /The passage relates Claude Brown's contempt for the white man's justice and his disgust at his father's fear and ignorance./

3. Claude recalled his mother's advice to his younger brother, Pimp:[4]

> /In this passage, Brown ridicules his mother's advice that Pimp should settle for a job making 50-60 dollars a week instead of trying to be a jet pilot./

4. George Baxter was a friend of Claude's who tried working with wholesale clothing manufacturers in downtown New York but quit and began selling drugs.[5]

> /Brown relates Baxter's fear of always being a "boy" to the white man. Baxter was enraged by the white man's use of "boy" and "girl" when referring to black men a nd women. This drove Baxter out of the garment district and into selling drugs./

---

[2]Richard Wright, Black Boy, A Record of Childhood and Youth (The World Publishing Company, Cleveland, 1945), 69-71. (From BLACK BOY by Richard Wright. Copyright 1937, 1942, 1944, 1945 by Richard Wright. This material was contributed by Harper & Row, Publishers solely for experimental use in this project. It may not be reproduced, distributed or sold in any other form for any other purpose without the permission of the publisher.)

[3]Claude Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1965), 93-95.

[4]Ibid., 280-281.

[5]Ibid., 285-287.

5. Claude described the attitude toward color held by his grandfather, whom he called Papa:[6]

> [The passage describes Papa's idea that light-skinned blacks were better than dark-skinned blacks. Papa took pride in once having "passed for white" when he came to New York.]

6. From a poverty-stricken background in St. Louis, Dick Gregory rose to become a college track star and a highly paid comedian. An active participant in the drive for full equality, he has participated in protest marches, has been put in jail, and was shot during the Watts rioting when he attempted to calm the rioters. In his autobiography, Gregory discussed racial humor:[7]

> [Gregory discussed his technique with white audiences and gives examples of his style. He points out the necessity of putting people at ease before engaging in humorous, yet biting, social commentary.]

7. In 1963, the Horace Bakers bought a house in a suburb of Philadelphia:[8]

> [The passage describes the violence and invective that the Bakers had to endure after they moved in.]

8. A Raisin in the Sun, the Broadway hit which was later made into a movie, is concerned with a Negro family who bought a home in the suburbs. In the following scene, the family is visited by Lindner, a representative from the community:[9]

---

[6] Ibid., 276.

[7] Dick Gregory with Robert Lipsyte, Nigger, An Autobiography (E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1964), 147-148, 160. (From the book NIGGER: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY by Dick Gregory with Robert Lipsyte. Copyright c 1964 by Dick Gregory Enterprises, Inc. Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.)

[8] Newsweek, Sept. 9, 1963, 22-23. (Copyright, Newsweek, Inc. Sept., 1963.)

[9] Lorraine Hansberry, A Raisin in the Sun (Random House, New York, 1959), 102-104. (From A RAISIN IN THE SUN, by Lorraine Hansberry. c Copyright, as an unpublished work, 1958 by Lorraine Hansberry. c Copyright 1959 by Lorraine Hansberry. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc.)

/The selection relates how the community representative, after a short speech praising the virtues of honesty, straight talk, and understanding, explains that Negroes are happier when they live in their own communities. His offer to buy back the house is greeted with incredulity./

9. James Baldwin, a highly respected writer, commented on race relations in America in his book, Nobody Knows My Name:[10]

/Baldwin suggests that the real problem in the U. S. is to be found in the very people who oppress Negroes. He suggests that the tremendous fear that whites have about Negroes must be due to some profound insecurity that whites haved about themselves./

10. John Howard Griffin, a white Southerner, was determined to understand what it meant to be a Negro in America. Having undergone several weeks of medical treatment and to all appearances having become a Negro, he travelled widely and related his experiences in a book entitled Black Like Me. One episode recounted a conversation he held with a white man who picked him up while he was hitchhiking:[11]

/The conversation hinges on the white man's fascination with and inquiries about Griffin's sex life. Griffin tries to dispel the sexual myths about Negroes by explaining that Negroes are biologically and psychologically like whites./

11. Daniel P. Moynihan, then an official in the Department of Labor, conducted a study of the Negro family in America. The Report, entitled "The Negro Family" was widely publicized and criticized. An article in Newsweek discussed the controversial Moynihan Report:[12]

/The article summarizes some of Moynihan's data and conclusions. Fatherlessness, broken homes, desertion and divorce are included as examples of the"instability" of the Negro family. Martin Luther King and Whitney Young, however, reject Moynihan's findings and King fears that the report willbe used to "rationalize oppression."/

---

[10]James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name, More Notes of a Native Son (The Dial Press, New York, 1961), 132-135. (Reprinted from NOBODY KNOWS MY NAME by James Baldwin. Copyright (c) 1954, 1956, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961 by James Baldwin and used by permission of the publishers, The Dial Press, Inc.)

[11]John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1961), 94-96.

[12]Newsweek, Aug. 22, 1966, 41, 44. (Copyright,Newsweek, Inc. Aug.,1966.)

12. In an article for Scholastic Teacher Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), commented on the white man's view of the Negro American:[13]

> /Wilkins states that the reason whites are bewildered when Negroes riot is that white school children have never learned either the history of Negroes in the U. S. or about the "Jim Crow" system./

B. Poverty and Riots

"I Got an Answer . . . White Man"[14]

> /A fictional Charles Smith relates the process by which he comes to realize that since he has nothing, and the white man has everything, he has nothing to lose by rioting./

The documents in this part speak to Charlie Smith's statement that riots occur because Negroes "ain't never had nothing . . . and they ain't got nothing whatsoever to lose by tearing up a world they don't want."

1. The following graphs compare national employment and housing conditions for whites and for non-whites:[15]

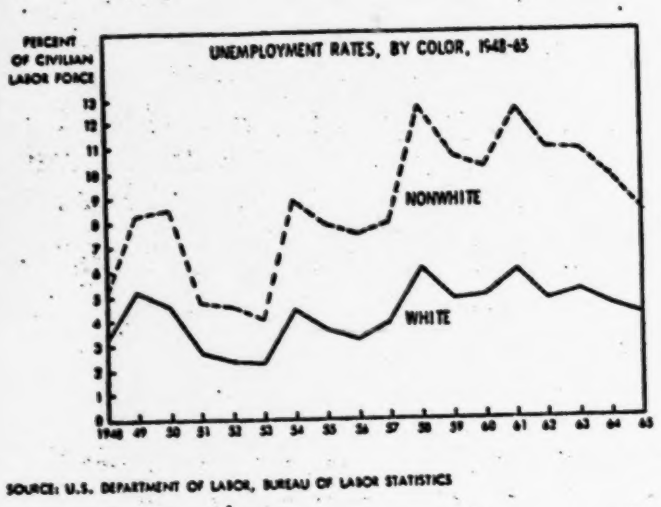
---

[13]Roy Wilkins, "The Los Angeles Riots: Handling the Topic in Class," Scholastic Teacher, LXXXVII (Oct. 7, 1965), 19. (Excerpts from "The Los Angeles Riots: Handling the Topic in Class" reprinted by permission from Scholastic Teacher, copyright 1965 by Scholastic Magazine, Inc.)

[14]The Christian Science Monitor, July 17, 1967, 2. (Reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Monitor c 1967, The Christian Science Publishing Society, all rights reserved.)

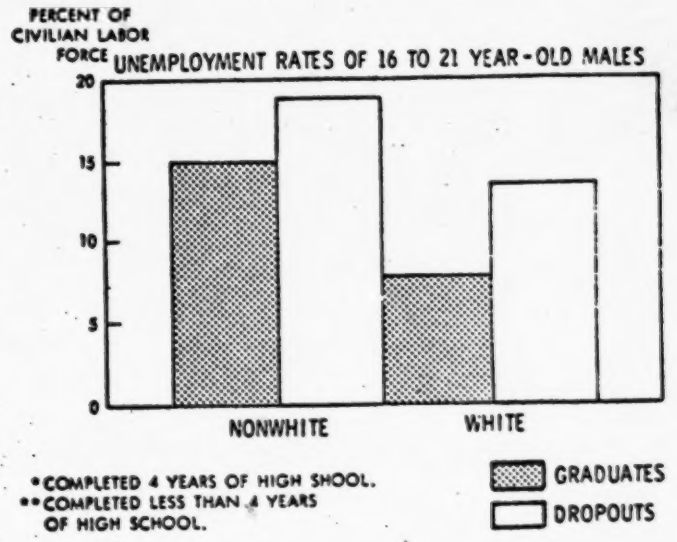
[15]United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, The Negroes in the United States, 20, 21, 40.

General Unemployment

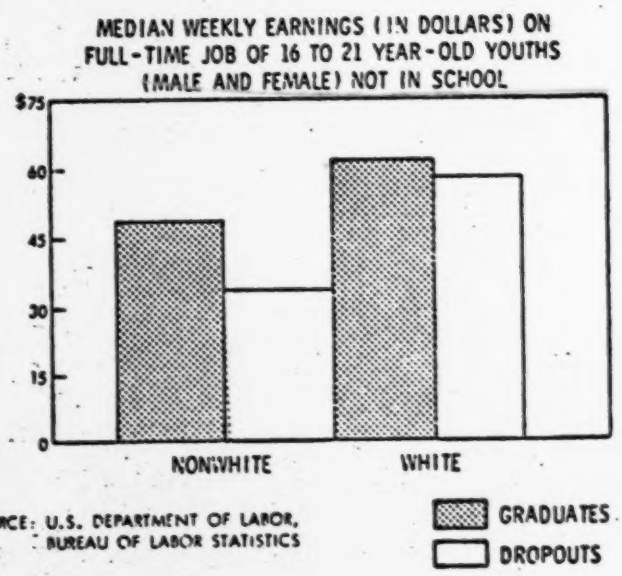

PERCENT OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, BY COLOR, 1948-65
NONWHITE
WHITE
1948 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65

SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Unemployment - October, 1965

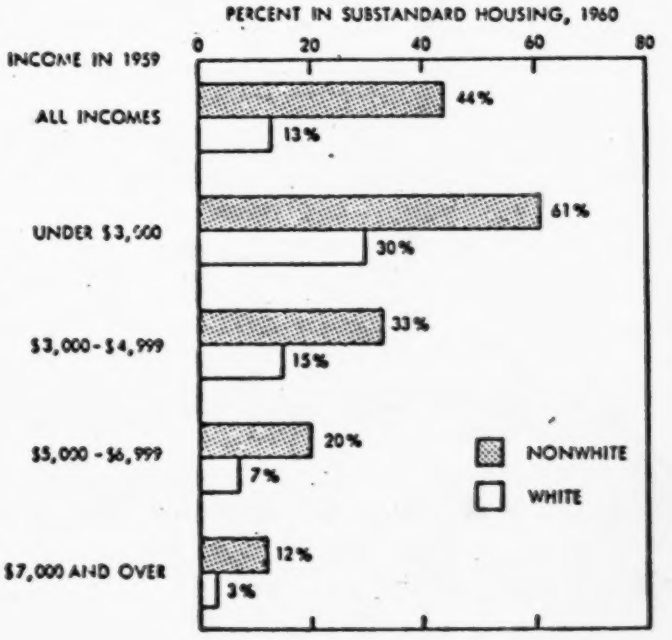


Weekly Earnings- February, 1963



SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Income and Substandard Housing



2. The McCone Commission commented on some economic aspects of Watts:[16]

The Disadvantaged Consumer

The Commission heard recurrent testimony of alleged consumer exploitation in south central Los Angeles: of higher prices being charged for food there than in other parts of town, of spoiled meat or produce or old bread being sold at the same price as fresh, of high interest rates on furniture and clothing purchases, of shoddy materials at high prices. Complaints were also registered to the effect that there is a bias against the curfew area (Watts) in the practices of insurance companies and institutional lenders . . .

Transportation

Our investigation has brought into clear focus the fact that the inadequate and costly public transportation currently existing throughout the Los Angeles area seriously restricts the residents of the disadvantaged areas such as south central Los Angeles. This lack of adequate transportation handicaps them in seeking and holding jobs, attending schools, shopping, and in fulfilling other needs. It has had a major influence in creating a sense of isolation, with its resultant frustrations, among the residents of south central Los Angeles, particularly the Watts area. Moreover, the lack of adequate east-west or north-south service through Los Angeles hampers not only the residents of the area under consideration here but also of all the city. . . .

South Central Los Angeles: Living Conditions

What, then, are the living conditions of those who reside in the portion of south central Los Angeles which became part of the curfew area in August of this year? Compared with the conditiins under which Negroes live in most other large cities of the United States, Los Angeles conditions are superior. This has been confirmed by witnesses before this Commission who noted, for example, that the majority of dwelling units in Watts are single-family structures and that the streets and lawns are well kept for a poverty area.

This is not to conclude that housing in south central Los Angeles is superb. On the contrary, residents of south central Los Angeles live in conditions inferior to the city-wide average and, of course, markedly inferior to the newer sections in West Los Angeles. Structures are older and more of them are sub-standard. Population density is higher: in Watts, for example, there is an average of 4.3 persons per household, compared with an overall county average of 2.94 persons per household.

Much has been done in the past ten or fifteen years to improve the situation. . . .

---

[16] McCone Commission Report, I, 62, 65, 77-79.

A serious deterioration

Nevertheless, we have received extensive testimony expressing residents' dissatisfaction with the area's physical facilities. Of particular concern to us is the fact that a serious deterioration of the area is in progress. Houses are old and require constant maintenance if they are to remain habitable. Over two thirds of them are owned by absentee landlords. In numerous instances neither landlords nor tenants appear willing to join in a cooperative effort to halt the deterioration. Many landlords are faced with problems of a high turnover in tenants who do not consider themselves responsible for assisting to maintain the property. Tenants resent the high proportion of their income which they must devote to rent for shelter which in many instances is more deteriorated than housing in the total county. . . .

3. Claude Brown described the life of a young friend whose family lived on relief:[17]

> [The passage relates how the young friend, Bucky, had to struggle to survive. He had many brothers and sisters and his mother would spend the welfare check on liquor if the children didn't force her to buy food first.]

4. In a sidewalk interview a young resident of Harlem discussed poverty:[18]

> But, you see, with the numbers and things, man, and the crap game, a lot of these people do this because there is no work, and you know they got to hustle in some kind of way. It's hard out here and you ain't got no bread for your kids and they're crying, you got to get it somewhere, so you don't want to steal, you know, so you try to do something else. You figure if you can get a crap game going, well, if it's your game, you can cut the game, you know you can get a certain percentage out of that game, you know, and eventually, you have some money, and then two to one you probably have your kid running up and you give him some money to take home because he needs this money right away.
>
> But what I'm saying is that if they were to provide enough jobs for everybody, you know, a lot of these things would just disappear. I know a lot of people, man, who would rather do other things, who are skilled to do other things, but you know what happens. You see a guy leaving his house early in the morning with a newspaper, he's looking for a job. Okay, he goes out and, say, maybe by two o'clock he hasn't found anything, so he comes back to the neighborhood and people stand out on the corner, and says, "Well, man, I don't have but fifty cents left anyway, and maybe I can hit a number," and fifty cents would bring in four dollars, you know, so he takes a chance. So what happens is, maybe he hits and those four dollars he

[17] Claude Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land, 31-32.

[18] Youth in the Ghetto, A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change (Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., New York, 1964), 325-327.

can take home, or it's four dollars he has to look for another job, but now if he doesn't hit, then he's got to go out and try to do something else. Now whathappens is certain gangsters will be around, you know. They come around because they're taking care of their fellows, you know, who are running these books for them. They have to come and collect and, well, they are always recruiting, you know. They may ask one of their men, do you know anybody who can keep his mouth shut and needs money, and if he says, "Yah, well, I know a fellow or so," then they say, "Well, I want to meet him and check him out." So they meet him and give him a job, you know. So these people rely on things like that. Not that they want to go outside the law, but it's because there is a lack of jobs, and the money doesn't stay in the neighborhood. You know as fast as money comes in, it's going right back out. So they got to keep something to keep bringing money in. You know, it's just like being out in a lake in a boat full of holes, and you got to have a pail trying to dump the water out. Well, as fast as you dump, that's the more water that's coming in.

The same thing is happening here in reverse. As the money is coming in, it's going back out so you never fill it up. So what's happening is, what I believe is, that if there was more jobs there would be less prostitution and numbers and things. Like there's a lady up the block and she's got two little kids, and no husband, and the relief keep turning all around, you know; they won't give her this and they won't give her that and she needs these things. They're taking care of her according to the way you would take care of a person, say twenty years ago, you know, but in these modern times, you know, it takes money. That's what these people run this country on is money, man, so she has to feed these children and sometimes the check is too small; she needs shoes or something because one of the kids is in school. So what happens is she has to go down to the bar -- and hang out on Fridays, and these different men come in, youknow, who like her, you know, and she feels bad about it, but she does it. You know, she goes down and she gets a little bit of money, youknow, to supplement what she is getting from the home relief and the welfare. --

5. The following item appeared in The New York Times on July 17, 1967.[19]

> [The newspaper story quotes Dr. Kenneth Clark as suggesting that the rioting seems "almost suicidal." He states that looting and burning is the rioter's way of saying "We want this changed."]

C. Agitators, Conspirators, and Police Brutality

While some have cited poverty and the entire role of the Negro in

[19] The New York Times, July 17, 1967, 23. (c 1967 by The New York Times Co. Reprinted by permission.)

white America as being responsible for the rioting in Watts, other observers have singled out different forces as being the causative agent. As you read, compare these answers to the question "Why Watts? with those set forth in Parts A and B.

1. Shortly after the Watts riots, this comment appeared in the National Review, a magazine of opinion:[20]

> /The article states that the underlying cause of the Watts riot was the philosophy for civil disobedience that Dr. Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement had been teaching. By teaching "anarchy and chaos by word and deed" theyhave undermined the first necessity of society-order./

2. An article entitled "The Plan to Burn Los Angeles" appeared in American Opinion, the monthly journal of the John Birch Society:[21]

> /The article states that the Watts riot was a "rehearsal" for a nationwide revolution directed by "the Communists." This rehearsal was planned for five years and was led by "forty to fifty" Communists from all over the U. S. The plan called for the creation of "the myth of police brutality" to unify the Negro community. After Watts, the plan called for a chain reaction of riots leading to a "full-fledged race war."/

3. In August, 1967, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I., commented on the role played by outside agitators in the summer riots:[22]

> /The newspaper article reports that while Mr. Hoover did say "outside agitators" played a role in the riots, he found no evidence of a conspiracy. Mr. Hoover also stated that some of the outside agitators "were characterized" as Communists, but were not significant./

4. Shortly after the rioting in Watts, the Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, William H. Parker, responded to a reporter's questions:[23]

[20] Will Herberg, "'Civil Rights' and Violence, Who are the Guilty Ones," The National Review, Sept. 7, 1965, 769. (Footnotes omitted.)

[21] Gary Allen, "The Plan to Burn Los Angeles," American Opinion. May, 1967, 31-32, 34-35, 39, 40. (Footnote omitted.)

[22] The New York Times, Aug. 3, 1967, 1, 16.

[23] U.S. News and World Report, Aug. 30, 1965, 23. (From a copyrighted interview in "U.S. News & World Report" of August 30, 1965.)

> /In response to the reporter's question concerning the cause of the riot, Chief Parker replies that Watts has a large number of recently arrived Negroes from the South, a high illiteracy rate, high unemployment and many on relief. He also sees the "constant preaching" of "unfair treatment by whites" as "sowing the seeds of discontent" and police brutality as a "canard" to conceal "Negro criminality."/

5. A report of an interview with an officer of the Los Angeles Police Department appeared in the September 7, 1965 issue of the National Review:[24]

> /The officer being interviewed states that Negroes in Watts realize the need for police protection and he implies that the people in Watts are friendly toward the police./

6. The fall following the Watts rioting Margaret Mead, a noted anthropologist, discussed the relations between the police and the community:[25]

> /Margaret Meade states that when a minority group that is discriminated against and a police force that represents the dominant group come in contact, small incidents can touch off "feelings" that spread very quickly./

7. The Christian Century commented on the Los Angeles Police Department and Chief Parker:[26]

> /The article is critical of both the Los Angeles Police Department and Chief Parker. The police "thought of themselves as an army of occupation." Chief Parker's statements indicate callousness and brutality toward the community./

8. The Report of the McCone Commission included a description of the relations between the police and Negro youths in Watts as expressed by the former leader of a juvenile gang:[27]

---

[24] National Review, Sept. 7, 1965, 773. (National Review, 150 E. 35 Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.)

[25] Margaret Mead, "The Los Angeles Riots: Handling the Topic in Class," Scholastic Teacher, LXXXVII (Oct. 7, 1965), 18.

[26] The Christian Century, LXXXII (Oct. 27, 1965), 1308-1309. (Copyright 1965 Christian Century Foundation. Reprinted by permission from the October 27, 1965 issue of The Christian Century.)

[27] McCone Commission Report, XVI, No. 121, 2.

Smith indicated there was constant war between the police officers and the kids that he knew. The kids would gather in the park and whenever the kids would see a police officer, the kids would begin to taunt the police officer and curse at him in order to antagonize him. The officer would then chase the kids, who would escape by running through alleys. All of the kids viewed this as very exciting but Smith said he could see how this would cause resentment among police. On the other hand, he said that at night when the police would catch one of his friends, the police might strike the boy in the stomach or take him for a ride in the patrol car and then let him off a long way from home. He personally has never been beaten by any policemen but he has seen such beatings take place at night after police were taunted by kids. He made the distinction between the older police officers on the force and the rookie cops. He said generally the kids were treated much better by the older police officers who would not swear at them or hit them. It was the younger cops who when they were baited would swear and call the kids "nigger". In comparing life in Alabama he said that kids there never would have dared to taunt the police because the kids had no doubt that they would have been shot or beaten severely without any questions being asked. When Smith was arrested, he was arrested by juvenile officers who, he says, treated him well. In jail, which he identified as the Georgia Street Jail, he along with his cell mates was treated roughly. He said the kids would constantly make noises and cause disturbances after being told to keep quiet. As a disciplinary measure, they would be shoved into a cold shower, not permitted to dry off, then placed in cells without any bedding and windows would be left open in the wintertime. He said all kids who caused trouble were treated in the same manner, irrespective of race but that it was generally the Negro and Mexican kids who created the disturbance since the "grey boys" (Anglo-Saxons) did not get along with Negroes and were generally quieter. . . .

SECTION III

THE RESPONSES

This section presents a wide range of responses to the riots. As you consider each proposal or solution, try to determine whether it is adequate to the problem: Could the proposal end the riots? A second and perhaps more important question to ask: Would a majority of Americans be willing to assume the burdens implicit in each proposal?

A. An End to Lawlessness

Various suggestions have been put forward with a view toward preventing or controlling rioting by emphasizing, first and foremost, the maintenance of law and order.

1. In an interview Chief Parker gave his suggestion for preventing future riots:[1]

> /Chief Parker suggests that the nation "get behind its police and its law enforcement officials" and demand that people obey the law. The continued preaching of civil disobedience may mean the destruction of the government./

2. On a local level Milwaukee employed an unusual method of ending the rioting that erupted in that city in the summer of 1967:[2]

> /The New York Times article describes how Milwaukee officials quickly sealed the City to incoming traffic, imposed a round-the-clock curfew, and called in the National Guard to seal off the Negro area./

3. On a national level, the House of Representatives responded to the riots of 1967 with an anti-riot bill:[3]

---

[1] U.S. News and World Report, Aug. 30, 1965, 22. (From a copyrighted interview in "U. S. News and World Report" of Aug. 30, 1965.)

[2] The New York Times, Aug. 1, 1967, 1, 17.

[3] Ibid., July 20, 1967, 1, 28.

/This newspaper account of the passage of the bill summarizes its main provision (Federal crime to cross state lines to incite a riot) and the objections of Representative Emanuel Celler. Mr. Celler felt the bill was ineffective and would arouse the anger of the Negro. Although the Administration did not desire the bill, the overwhelming sentiment of the House was in favor of it./

4. Senator Robert Kennedy of New York, a former Attorney General of the United States, commented on the issue of lawlessness:[4]

/Senator Kennedy states that saying "obey the law" is futile since the law to the Negro does not mean a friend and protector, but something quite different: an oppressor and enemy in the South and indifference in the North./

B. Negro Leaders Speak

The riots have produced a veritable barrage of responses from Negro leaders and an equally broad range of reactions to these responses.

1. Long before Watts, Dr. Martin Luther King had evolved a doctrine of fighting discrimination by non-violent means. For his leadership in the field of race relations, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1963 when President Kennedy proposed the first major civil rights bill in one hundred years, Martin Luther King was the leading spirit behind the March on Washington which was organized to urge Congress to adopt the measure:[5]

/The Newsweek article states that the March on Washington had brought the "issues of human rights before the national conscience with unprecedented force," throughnon-violent means./

2. From The New York Times, July 3, 1964:[6]

/The article quotes President Johnson at the signing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and gives a short description of the key sections./

[4]Robert Kennedy, "The Los Angeles Riots: Handling the Topic in Class," Scholastic Teacher, LXXXVII, Oct. 7, 1965, 17.

[5]Newsweek, Sept. 9, 1963, 19-20, 22. (Copyright Newsweek, Inc., Sept. 9, 1963).

[6]The New York Times, July 3, 1964, 1, 8.

3. Dr. Felton A.Clark, President of Southern University in Louisiana, made the following observation on Dr. King's philosophy:[7]

> /Dr. Clark states that Gandhi, Jesus Christ, and Dr. King had the same "point of view."/

4. In the summer of 1966, Dr. King moved his operations from the South to the ghettos of the North. An item in Time described some of his activities in the Chicago metropolitan area.[8]

> /Time magazine states that Martin Luther King was able to get concessions from Chicago's political and financial leadership by scheduling a march through Cicero, an explosive Chicago suburb. A "dissident group" of Negroes rejected the agreement and threatened to march./

5. The dissident group decided to march on Cicero. The New York Times described the event:[9]

> /The newspaper account describes the physical and verbal abuse heaped upon the 250 demonstrators by the white mob./

6. Testifying before a Senate Committee, an associate of Dr. King pointed up criticisms of Martin Luther King's approach as expressed by several young Negroes:[10]

> After the rioting in Chicago, a group of young Negroes sitting with Dr. King and me said the following:
>
> "You fellows have produced nothing. Dr. King has been here for a year. There has been no accommodation to him. But when we wanted sprinklers, we went out in the street, forgetting your nonviolence

---

[7]Robert Penn Warren, Who Speaks for the Negro? (Random House, New York, 1965), 23.

[8]Time, Sept. 2, 1966, 19. (Courtesy TIME: Copyright TIME: Copyright Time Inc., 1966.)

[9]The New York Times, Sept. 5, 1966, 1, 8.

[10]United States Senate, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., Federal Role in Urban Affairs: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1967), 1854-1855.

and your patience, and we tore up the street, and in 24 hours we had not only the $8 sprinklers we wanted, but we had, in addition to those sprinklers, swimming pools. Now, Dr. King, Daley hasn't given you a damn thing, but he has given us what we fought for."

Second illustration. Following the riot in Watts, Dr. King and I went there in the midst of the resultant chaos to do what we could. A young man stood up and talked about his group's manifesto, and, quite unsuspectingly, I asked him if I might see a copy of this manifesto, whereupon he took out of his pocket a box of matches, lit one, held it up, and said:

"That is our manifesto, burn, baby, burn."

When we said to him:

"But, young man, what have you gained by this?" he said:

"We asked the mayor to come and talk with us, and he would not come. We asked the governor to come, and he would not come. We asked the chief of police to come, and he would not come. But after we issued our manifesto, they all came."

Then he whispered and said, sotto voce, but loud enough for all the young teenagers to hear:

"And when you and Dr. King go out in the street, you better be careful, because they sent us so many damn sociologists, baby, so many economists, so many social workers, if you and King aren't careful, you will trip over them on the street." . . .

7. The Black Muslims, a vocal religious organization with social and political overtones, led by Elijah Muhammad have an approach differing radically from that of Martin Luther King. Claude Brown's friend, Floyd Saks, explained to Claude his reasons for becoming a Black Muslim:[11]

> /The selection describes how Saks came to realize that the black man has been conditioned to see himself in terms assigned by the white man. Only when the black man rejects this conditioning and becomes proud of his blackness, can he be free./

8. Elijah Muhammed outlined "What the Muslims Want":[12]

> /This selection lists the ten point program of Elijah Muhammed and reasons for it. He states that freedom, justice, and equality can only come about when black people establish their

---

[11]Claude Brown, Manchild In the Promised Land, 320, 322-324.

[12]Harvey Wish, ed., The Negro Since Emancipation (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964), 175-177. (Harvey Wish, Ed., THE NEGRO SINCE EMANCIPATION, C 1964. Reprinted by permission of Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.)

> own separate state or territory. He believes the white man should give up such territory and meet all the needs of this black community for 25 years as payment for 400 years of slavery./

9. In Nobody Knows My Name, James Baldwin posed a problem for the Black Muslim philosophy:[13]

> /Baldwin's argument is that white and black are historically bound together and that the great task of America is to create a country in which there are no minorities./

10. Shortly after Watts, the slogan "Black Power" was coined, an electric slogan which received immediate attention and has been subject to various interpretations by many people at varying times. Stokely Carmichael, who first shouted the phrase, gave one interpretation in August, 1966:[14]

> /Mr. Carmichael states that black power means that blacks will have the power to determine what happens in their communities. While he rejects the idea that only by integration can the black man advance, he does "welcome the support" of everyone./

11. H. Rap Brown succeeded Carmichael as head of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and in several speeches made clear his position on Black Power:[15]

> /This Newsweek article quotes Mr. Brown as having "harangued" a crowd of Negroes with statements like "if America don't come around, we're going to burn America down."/
>
> * * * *
>
> /This selection from The New York Times describes the Cambridge (Maryland) police chief playing a tape recording of the speech H. Rap Brown gave shortly before rioting broke out in that city./
>
> * * * *
>
> /This selection from The New York Times quotes Mr. Brown as saying that the recent riots were "dress rehearsals for revolution" to a rally in Queens (N.Y.). He attacks Presidents Johnson and Kennedy and warns his audience that the U.S. is "escalating its war against black people."/

---

[13] James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name, 136-137.

[14] Newsweek, Aug. 22, 1966, 36. (Copyright Newsweek, Inc., August, 1966)

[15] Newsweek, Aug. 7, 1966, 28; The New York Times, Aug. 3, 1967, 16; Ibid., Aug. 7, 1967, 1.

12. In the summer of 1967 a Black Power Conference was held in Newark, New Jersey, shortly after riots had raged in that city. Four hundred people representing forty-five civil rights groups in 36 cities attended. The New York Times commented on the Conference under the headline "The Many Meanings of Black Power":[16]

> /This selection describes the differences in dress, background, and ideology of the people at the Conference. While the participants differed on the meaning of black power, their presence confirmed the importance and power of the idea./

13. In August, 1966, Newsweek published a poll showing the reaction of Negroes to their leaders in 1963 and in 1966:[17]

> /The poll shows how rank-and-file Negroes and leadership Negroes viewed their leaders in 1963 and 1966./

C. An End to Poverty

Stemming from the idea that riots are basically caused by poverty, a number of responses to the rioting propose various economic remedies.

1. The federal government responded to Watts by increasing the extent of existing programs. The September 3, 1965 issue of Time reported the developments:[18]

> /The selection describes the Presidential "task force" designed to inaugurate a ten-point crash program for Watts. The passage also describes the efforts to get the regular anti-poverty program going./

2. A. Philip Randolph, an important Negro leader, proposed a Freedom Budget for All Americans. Testifying before a Senate Committee he stated:[19]

[16] Ibid., July 23, 1967, 1E.

[17] Newsweek, Aug. 22, 1966, 34. (Copyright, Newsweek, Inc., August, 1966.)

[18] Time, Sept. 3, 1965, 21.

[19] United States Senate, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., Federal Role in Urban Affairs, 1854.

> The point I am attempting to make, then, is that the frustration and rioting on the part of Negroes, and the fear on the part of whites . . . spring fundamentally from the fact that we have a society in which there is inadequate education. Faced with these conditions, one side reacts with fear and the other with frustration.
>
> Since all of this takes us inevitably into the question of solution, I must say that I know of no document other than the Freedom Budget which attempts in a systematic and orderly fashion to state the objectives and the priorities, and to come forth with a plan really prepared to deal not only with Negro frustration but also with white fear. Therefore, we have called it the Freedom Budget for All Americans, since its total concern is to wipe out poverty wherever it exists. . . .

3. Advocates of the Freedom Budget maintain that poverty can be virtually eliminated in the United States by 1975 because of the increasing rate of growth of the American economy. Pointing to the growth in the Gross National Product (GNP), the value in dollars of all the goods and services produced by the American economy in a year, they show that at present tax rates there will be more money in the federal treasury. Thus, they claim that, if Americans continue to pay the same percentage of their incomes to the federal government in taxes, the government would be able to spend vastly increased amounts of money on economic opportunity, education, health, and other related programs even with increased expenditures for national defense and space research. The following graphs illustrate how the Freedom Budget could operate.

How Much We Have to Work With, 1965-1975[20]
based on Economic Growth Projections

/The graph indicates the projected average GNP in 1966-75 and the projected additional GNP in 1966-75./

Role of the Federal Budget in the "Freedom Budget"[21]

/Role of the Federal budget in the "Freedom Budget". The chart indicates the amounts that could be spent in the various federal programs, 1967-1975./

---

[20]Adapted from A 'Freedom Budget' For All Americans, rev. ed. (A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York, Oct., 1966), 76.

[21]Ibid., 80.

Number in U.S. Living in Poverty, Deprivation, Comfort, and Affluence, 1964, and Goals for 1970 and 1975.[22]

/This chart indicates a decline in poverty with a general increase in affluence./

4. Saul Alinsky, who has made a career of working in slum areas, maintains that such plans as the Freedom Budget and the entire governmental approach of doing something <u>for</u> Negroes are totally inadequate:[23]

/Alinsky states that the poor should develop "strong, militant organizations of their own." These organizations are formed by the poor to eliminate specific conditions in housing, education, and jobs, and form the basis of a mass movement./

5. Government anti-poverty programs and proposals such as the Freedom Budget have evoked considerable critical comment. One example appeared in the <u>National Review</u>, a journal of conservative opinion:[24]

/The writer of this selection states that most of the poor are in that condition "because they want to be." Their poverty is of the mind, will, and hope. The various welfare programs only subsidize drinking, smoking, and foolish spending. He advocates a policy of making it "rotten for the poor" so that they will be ashamed of their condition and will work to escape it./

6. A radical solution to the problem of poverty is proposed by those advocating a guaranteed income. On March 23, 1964, the front page of <u>The New York Times</u> carried a report on this proposal under the headline "Guaranteed Income Asked for All, Employed or Not":[25]

/The article reports on the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution. The Committee urges, among other things, that cybernation now gives us the resources to guarantee every American an adequate income "as a matter of right."/

---

[22] <u>Ibid</u>., 77.

[23] Marion K. Sanders, ed., "A Professional Radical Moves In on Rochester, Conversation with Saul Alinsky," Part II, <u>Harper's Magazine</u>, July, 1965, 55, 59.

[24] Robert J. Doyer, "I Know About the Negroes and the Poor," <u>National Review</u>, Dec. 17, 1963, 517-518, 520-521. (National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.)

[25] <u>The New York Times</u>, March 23, 1964, 1, 20.

7. Public response to the idea of a guaranteed income for all was indicated in a poll conducted by Louis Harris:[26]

> /This *New York Times* article on the poll indicates that a majority of Americans oppose both the negative income tax and the guaranteed annual wage. However, a majority of Negroes favor the negative income tax and a majority of union members favor the guaranteed annual wage for works in seasonal industries./

---

[26] Ibid., Aug. 8, 1967, 26.

SECTION IV

A LONG, HOT CENTURY?

Watts was one of the 59 riots occurring from 1964 to 1967 that created the human tragedy recorded by Time magazine on the chart below.[1] Will this list go on and on? Will there be riots every year?

> /Riot toll -- The chart details the number of people killed, injured and arrested in the riots of 1964-67. It also lists the cities in which riots have taken place in April-August of 1967./

1. The New York Times reported on Watts two years after the riots:[2]

> /The article describes the kinds of programs that were started after the riots. Although there have been many improvements, especially in jobs and community serviees, many grievances still exist. The "most significant gain" has been the development of a sense of community and hope in Watts./

2. The results of polls conducted by Newsweek in 1966 and 1967 may provide some clues as to what may happen in the future.[3]

> /One poll, entitled "How White Views of the Negro have Changed" indicates that although racism is still strong in the U.S., the trend is toward greater acceptance of Negroes by whites./

Where Whites and Negroes Disagree Most[4]

> /The poll, entitled "Where Whites and Negroes Disagree Most", indicates that integrated housing, demonstrations, riots, and the police are the issues on which Negroes and whites disagree most./

Progress Made -- And Progress Wanted[5]

> /The poll, entitled "Progress Made and Progress Wanted" indicates that Negroes feel they have made more progress in schools, restaurants, jobs, and voting than they have in housing and pay where progress is slight./

---

[1] Time, Aug. 11, 1967, 11.

[2] The New York Times, Aug. 6, 1967, 50.

[3] Newsweek, Aug. 22, 1966, 23. (Copyright Newsweek, Inc., August 1966.)

[4] Ibid., 22.

[5] Ibid., 57.

How Negroes Feel About Riots[6]

/The poll, entitled "How Negroes Feel About Riots" indicates how rank-and-file, non-South, South, and leadership group Negroes feel about riots./

The Basic Causes of the Negro Rioting[7]

/The poll, entitled, "The Basic Causes of the Negro Rioting" summarizes the causes whites and Negroes believe are responsible for riots./

3. Following the 1967 riot in Newark, the editorial page of The New York Times carried the following comment under the headline The Gravest Responsibility:[8]

/The editorial describes the causes of riots and expresses the fear that the riots will escalate into a massive race war between the "two nations" of black and white. It condemns the "business as usual" attitude in Washington and in most of the country and urges the U.S. to "face up to" the crisis./

---

[6] Ibid., 57.

[7] Ibid., Aug. 21, 1967, 19.

[8] The New York Times, July 16, 1967, 12E.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma, which is condensed in Arnold Rose's The Negro in America (Beacon, Boston, 1951)* is a classic analysis of the concerns of this unit. Along with Charles Silkerman's Crisis in Black and White (Random House, New York, 1964)*, it provides an overview of the challenges and issues raised by riots such as the one in Watts.

Robert Conot interviewed nearly 1,000 participants of the Watts riots of 1965 and in Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness (Bantam Books, New York, 1967)*, he has reconstructed an exciting and insightful account of what happened during the rioting. Two reports, Fred C. Shapiro and James W. Sullivan told the story of the 1964 riots in Race Riots, New York, 1964 (Crowell, New York, 1964).

There are hundreds of books that contribute to an understanding of the causes of riots, and only a few of the most readable will be mentioned here. A Pictorial History of the Negro in America, edited by Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer (Crown Publishers, New York, 1964)* provides an unusual and interesting way to learn about the Negro in American history. Margaret Butcher's The Negro in American Culture (Knopf, New York, 1956) tells of the Negro's contributions in literature, art, music, theatre, education and politics. In The Negro in American Life -- Selected Readings (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1964)*, Richard Wade has collected excerpts by prominent historical writers about Negroes and their role in American life. Philip Durham and Everett Jones Martin Luther King (Johnson Pocket Books, Chicago, 1964)*. Malcolm X Speaks, Selected Speeches and Statements (Ment Publishers, New York, 1965) is an excellent source of black nationalist and black power ideas. An interesting account of the Black Muslims is Louis Lomax' When the Word is Given (Signet, New York, 1963)*.

*Available in paperback editions.